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**KHRUSHCHEV SPEECH**

4pg Supplement

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 27, 1956

# THE JERUSALEM POST

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## MARGINAL COLUMN

By ARTHUR SAUL DUBER

THE world is on wheels and the need for the motor vehicle is so great that it is impossible to imagine a world without transport. Zoning of cities, the emergence of suburbs, the decentralization of the business life of the metropolis and the development of rural and border areas is impossible today without quick, cheap and efficient transport. Therefore whoever controls transport controls the economic, social and cultural life of a community. For this reason the view is growing up in most progressive societies that this vital service must be placed under public supervision and always responsive to public need and flexible enough to meet the changing demands of the nation. What this form of public control should be must be determined by local conditions and habits. In London, it is a Public Passenger Transport Board; in New York it is Municipal ownership of some of the main arteries, in most countries, it is a state or civic ownership and in others free competition between varying authorities. Elsewhere, Government statutory supervision. In Israel we imagined we had solved our problem of public control over transport by giving a virtual monopoly to co-operatives which were part of the Histadrut, the workers' own organization and for some time have taken care of their basic economic needs.

THE development of public transport in Israel as represented by the Bus co-operatives is increasingly in the direction of unrestricted and selfish private motives. For the sake of those who they should serve, their appetite for foreign currency allocations for new equipment and for state credits is insatiable; while their impudent refusal to accept any form of public control becomes more stifling every day as the dispersal of the population, the growth of new suburbs and the increase of the nation's numbers render the public transport system dependent upon them. For the most part, as the Minister of Transport pointed out in his recent statement, they have declined to carry out the recommendations of the Knesset committee which was especially convened to see that additional facilities be made available to the public. They are in the habit of making their own decisions and are not prepared to be subject to the control of the public. They are not prepared to be subject to the control of the public. They are not prepared to be subject to the control of the public.

TOO much power has not only corrupted the Bus co-operatives, it has also corrupted their judgment and made them arrogantly oblivious of public opinion. The public is not only being deceived but is being deceived by a large and unwarranted distribution of funds to members and by a refusal to make certain economies which were recommended to them by the public committee. These home truths were told to them and the nation by the Minister of Transport in his recent statement. But he was far too mild in pointing them out. The 5 per cent increase in fares which was announced last night, but he was far too mild in pointing them out. The 5 per cent increase in fares which was announced last night, but he was far too mild in pointing them out. The 5 per cent increase in fares which was announced last night, but he was far too mild in pointing them out.

NOW there will be more meetings and more threats; and the strike threat is still there in the background, for this action has been postponed for a few days. It is this facet of the present problem which has not been tackled. The public will not tolerate this situation. It is this facet of the present problem which has not been tackled. The public will not tolerate this situation. It is this facet of the present problem which has not been tackled. The public will not tolerate this situation.

## British Gov't Cuts £76m. In Expenditure

LONDON, Tuesday (Reuter).

The Chancellor of the Exchequer, Mr. Harold Macmillan, announced today that the Government had made cuts in expenditure amounting to £76m. this year.

This includes £24m. in the defence programme, £10m. in defence expenditure by civil servants, and £25m. in spending by other civil departments.

When he made his budget proposals last April, Mr. Macmillan said the Government intended to reduce expenditure by at least £100m. on this year's estimate as an alternative to higher taxation. The estimate for defence this year is £1,500m.

Mr. Macmillan told the Commons today that this would be saved on the navy, £10m. on the army, and £10m. on the air force.

The main saving arose from abandoning or deferring orders which would otherwise have been placed, and from the sale of surplus stocks, and expediting disposal of surplus stocks, he added. They did not reflect any change in the size or shape of the fighting force.

"Any major decision in this field would, of course, need to be taken after consultation with our allies," he said.

## Britain Welcomes Soviet Trade Talks

LONDON, Tuesday (Reuter).

The Foreign Office said today that it welcomed a Soviet proposal to increase trade between the two countries. The proposal was made by Premier Nikita Khrushchev when he visited London in April.

The Foreign Office said that no date had yet been set for the visit, but details are being worked out. He said the idea for the trade talks arose from the trade offer to Britain made by Premier Nikolai Bulganin and Mr. Nikita Khrushchev when they visited London in April.

## Six-Nation Euratom Conference Begins

BRUSSELS, Tuesday (Reuter).

Representatives of six nations began today to draft treaties creating a European atomic energy organization (Euratom) and a single customs area stretching from the Baltic to the Mediterranean.

The conference presided over by the Belgian Foreign Minister, Mr. Paul-Henri Spaak, expected to last four months, during which the last obstacles in the way of signing the proposed treaties will have to be removed. The countries taking part are France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and Luxembourg.

## Man Kills Wife, Shoots Himself

TEL AVIV, Tuesday. — A 54-year-old man allegedly shot his wife in the head and then himself in the chest today.

The man, who was identified as being a member of the Histadrut, was found by police in his home. He was taken to a hospital where he died. His wife was also taken to a hospital where she died.

## Bus Cooperatives Postpone Strike

Jerusalem Post Staff

The bus cooperatives' warning strike, scheduled for midnight last night, was postponed until the beginning of next week following a protracted meeting between representatives of the companies and Histadrut.

## Ministry Mediates In Textile Dispute

The Ministry of Labour will mediate in the textile dispute between the Manufacturers Association and the Histadrut, which is now being handled by the Ministry of Labour.

The dispute between the Manufacturers Association and the Histadrut, which is now being handled by the Ministry of Labour, is a result of a disagreement over wages and working conditions. The Manufacturers Association is demanding a 10 per cent increase in wages, while the Histadrut is demanding a 15 per cent increase. The Ministry of Labour is mediating between the two sides.

## SHAH CALLS ON KHRUSHCHEV

MOSCOW, Tuesday (Reuter).

The Shah of Persia called on Premier Nikita Khrushchev today following his arrival in Moscow. The Shah is on a two-week visit. He also called on Premier Nikolai Bulganin.

## Togliatti Warns Against Return Of Stalinist Reign of Terror

ROME, Tuesday (Reuter).

Italy's Communist leader, Mr. Palmiro Togliatti, today warned against a return to the Stalinist reign of terror. He said that the Italian Communist Party was not interested in a return to the Stalinist system.

## Elections In USSR May Be Liberalized

MOSCOW, Tuesday (Reuter).

Russian leaders are considering giving voters an opportunity to choose between a number of different candidates at local elections instead of the single candidate system which has been the rule hitherto, according to a report in a Soviet newspaper.

## Belgian Communist Party Recants

BRUSSELS, Tuesday (Reuter).

The Belgian Communist Party's Central Committee today recanted its earlier statement that it had no intention of joining the government. The committee said that it was now prepared to consider joining the government.

## Wall of Ancient Jaffa City Discovered

TEL AVIV, Tuesday. — A rare discovery in archaeological excavations was made in Jaffa yesterday when a wall of the ancient city was uncovered.

The wall, which was found in the form of a series of foundations, was built in the 10th century. It was found in the area of the old Jaffa port. The discovery is considered to be one of the most important in the history of Jaffa.

## ISRAEL-AMCO TO DRILL IN TURKEY

NEW YORK, Tuesday (UP).

The Israel-American Oil Corporation, a subsidiary of the Hasko Oil Company, announced yesterday that it has completed a new subsidiary, the Israel-American Petroleum Corporation, to conduct oil operations in Turkey.

## USSR Fails To Defer Debate On Algeria

UNITED NATIONS, Tuesday.

The Soviet Union failed today to gain a postponement of the Security Council's debate on whether to consider Algerian independence. The Council will now proceed to a vote on the matter.

## Czech, Egypt Missions Raised to Embassies

CAIRO, Tuesday (UP).

An official announcement said today that Egypt and Czechoslovakia have decided to raise their diplomatic representations from legations to embassies. The move resulted from the "friendship and cooperation" between the two countries.

## Labour Asks Lloyd Revise M.E. Policy

LONDON, Tuesday (INA).

An official Labour Party delegation last night called on the Foreign Secretary, Mr. Selwyn Lloyd, to urge the Government to revise its Middle East policy. The delegation said that the current policy was not in line with the interests of the British people.

## Leban Reports To Knesset Committee

Amman, Tuesday (Reuter).

Ambassador Abba Eban reported to the Knesset Foreign Affairs and Security Committee on the political situation in the U.S. and on the questions connected with the approaching meeting of the U.N. General Assembly.

## Lebanon To Press Probe Of Attacks, MAC Says

The Lebanese Government wants peace on the border and will continue to search for the culprits in the Arab attacks in the Galilee in order to punish them, according to a declaration issued jointly by both delegations at a meeting yesterday of the Israel-Lebanon Mixed Armistice Commission.

## NO ISRAEL PROPAGANDA IN TURKEY

LONDON, Tuesday (INA).

The Turkish Embassy here has circulated the text of an Ankara Radio home service broadcast in which the Turkish authorities have permitted Israel to carry on large scale anti-Arab propaganda in Turkey.

## JEWISH LORD MAYOR OF DUBLIN CHOOSEN

DUBLIN, Tuesday (INA).

Mr. Robert Brisco, the Jewish M.P. in the Irish Parliament, has been elected Lord Mayor of Dublin.

## AFTER MIDNIGHT

THE 5.30 edition yesterday was broadcast at 5.30 for the first time since it was introduced by President Eisenhower.

## Golda Myerson

What kind of woman is she?

Read the intimate profile appearing in today's

## King Dissolves Jordan House As M.P.'s Oppose New Policy

King Hussein yesterday dissolved the eight-month-old Jordan Parliament, plunging the country into a new domestic crisis. The Royal Decree entailed the resignation of Said al Mufli's month-old Cabinet within the next eight days to make way for a caretaker Government which will arrange for new elections.

## Nasser Lifts Martial Law

CAIRO, Tuesday. — President Abdel Nasser said, he considered the results of Tuesday's plebiscite "an order-gives me by the people, and as a soldier I must obey it."

## Shepilov: Ready To Aid Lebanon

The Soviet Foreign Minister, Mr. Dmitri Shepilov, is reported to have told the Lebanese Government in talks in Beirut yesterday that the Soviet Union would welcome the opportunity to assist the Lebanese with loans and economic aid.

## Madrid Sees Pact In Mediterranean Nearer

The forthcoming visit to Madrid of President Abdel Nasser of Egypt, King Saud of Saudi Arabia, and President Gamal Abdel Nasser of the Syrian Arab Republic is regarded by diplomatic circles in the Spanish capital as an important stride forward in the formation of a Mediterranean pact, the Geneva correspondent of "Al-Ahram," the Cairo daily, has reported.

## Syrian House To Hear New Policy

The Syrian Parliament will meet today to hear a revised statement of policy presented by Premier Sabri al-Hamad's new Cabinet.

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### Cables in Brief

**PHYSICIANS.** — Police in Taipei, Formosa, said yesterday that they have arrested two officials and interrogated 169 Chinese physicians involved in the alleged sale of answers to students taking medical examinations.

**SHOCK WAVE** — Japanese meteorologists reported that they had recorded shock waves early yesterday indicating another nuclear explosion at the U.S. Bikini testing ground. There were also

indications that the Soviet Union has exploded an atom bomb in Siberia about June 19 or 20.

**RECEIVED.** — Crown Prince Emir Seif of Islam Mohammed of Adir, the Deputy Minister and Foreign Minister of the Yemen, was yesterday received by Mr. Wilhelm Fleck, the President of East Germany.

**OBITUARY.** — The Soviet Press announced yesterday the death of Prof. Rheinhold

**TRADE.**—France and Greece signed a new trade agreement on Monday which is expected to increase trade between the two countries to about \$40m. annually, it was announced in Paris.

**TOL.** — The U.S. Agriculture Department announced yesterday issuance to Turkey of an authorization to finance the purchase of up to \$3.2m. worth of edible oils under an agreement between the two countries announced on March 12.

**TURKISH SHIP FOR MOROCCAN ALIYA**  
ISTANBUL, Tuesday (INA). — The Government-owned shipping line has accepted an

It is also learned here that the Ministry of Commerce today granted licences for the

import of \$1m. worth of tires from Israel. Because of an adverse balance of trade, Turkey has been extremely reluctant to grant licences for imports of Israel manufactures.

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**S.S. PANNEGIA**

In a letter to *The Jerusalem Post*, Mr. Mordechai Mano, the Haifa shipping agent, points out that the lease for the Greek vessel Pannegia, was arranged by himself alone and not, as

agent, points out that the lease for the Greek vessel Pannegia, was arranged by himself alone and not, as stated in our report on Sunday, by the Ministry of Development through his agency.

...all the pleasure

....all the pleasure  
tobacco can ever give-  
yours when you smoke  
*Filtion*- pure choice  
virginia tobacco....

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## The Public

**THE ISRAEL-AMERICAN  
ETHNICAL ASSISTANCE**  
**No. 2**

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and corner Babou Nabbat

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# KHRUSHCHEV ATTACKS CULT OF THE INDIVIDUAL

Comrades! In the report of the Central Committee of the party, the cult of the individual, in a number of speeches by delegates to the congress, as also formerly during the session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, sessions, quite a lot has been said about the cult of the individual and about its harmful consequences.

After Stalin's death the Central Committee of the party began to implement a policy of explanation, concisely and consistently, and it is impossible and foreign to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism to create one person, to transform him into a superman possessing super-natural characteristics akin to those of a god. Such a man supposedly knows everything, everything, thinks for everyone, can do anything, is infallible in his behavior.

Such a belief about a man, and specifically about Stalin, was cultivated among us for many years.

The objective of the present report is not a thorough evaluation of Stalin's life and activity. Concerning Stalin's merits an entirely sufficient number of books, pamphlets and studies had already been written in his lifetime. The role of Stalin in the preparation and execution of the Soviet revolution, in the civil war and in the fight for the construction of socialism in our country is universally known.

At the present we are concerned with a question which has immense importance for the party now and for the future — (we are concerned) with how the cult of the person of Stalin has been gradually growing, the cult which became at a certain specific stage the source of a whole series of exceedingly serious and grave perversions of party principles, of the fact that Stalin is excessively rude, that he does not have a proper attitude toward his comrades, that he is capricious and abusive.

## Harm of Cult Noted

Because of the fact that not all as yet realize fully the practical consequences, resulting from the cult of the individual, the great harm caused by the violation of the principle of collective leadership of the party and because of the accumulation of immense and limitless power in the hands of one person, the Central Committee of the party considered it absolutely necessary to make the material pertaining to this matter available to the twentieth congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union.

Allow me first of all to remind you how severely the classics of Marxism-Leninism denounced every form of individualism, the cult of the individual. In a letter to the German political worker, Wilhelm Pieck, Marx stated:

"Because of my activity in any cult of the individual, I never considered the existence of the (first) international the numerous addresses from various countries which recognized my merits and which honored me, I did not even reply, and I absolutely refused to submit to such honors."

Sometimes later Engels wrote:

"Both Marx and I have always been against any public glorification of individuals, with the exception of cases when it had an important bearing on the revolutionary struggle which during our lifetime was conducted in a revolutionary manner."

The great modesty of the genius of the revolution, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin, who had always stressed the role of the people as the creator of history, the directing and organizing force of the party as a living and creative organism, and also the role of the Central Committee.

Lenin does not negate the role of the leaders of the workers' class in directing the revolutionary liberation movement.

While ascribing great importance to the role of the leaders and organizers of the masses, Lenin at the same time mercilessly stigmatized every manifestation of the cult of the individual, inexorably combating the foreign-to-Marxism tendency to glorify individuals and to counter all efforts to oppose a "hero" to the masses and to the people.

Lenin taught that the party's strength depends on its indissoluble unity with the masses on the fact that behind the party follow the people — the masses — and intelligentsia. "Only he will win and retain the power," said Lenin, "who believes in the people, who believes in the living creativeness of the people."

Lenin spoke with pride about the Bolshevik Communist party as the leader and teacher of the people; he called for the presentation of all the most important questions before the opinion of knowledgeable workers, before the opinion of the party; he said: "We believe in it, we see in it the wisdom, the honour, and the conscience of our epoch."

Lenin repeatedly stressed every attempt aimed at belittling or weakening the directing role of the party in the structure of the Central Committee of the party, a collective of leaders and the guardian and interpreter of party principles.

Underlining the role of the party and its authority, Vladimir Ilyich (Lenin) pointed out: "Our Central Committee constituted itself as a closely centralized, a highly authoritative group."

During Lenin's life the Central Committee of the party was a real expression of collective leadership of the party and of the nation. Being a militant Marxist revolutionary, always unyielding in matters of principle, Lenin never imposed by force his views upon his co-workers. He tried to convince; he patiently explained his opinions to others. Lenin always diligently observed that the norms of party life were being applied in the Central Committee, that the party congresses and the plenary sessions of the Central Committee took place at the proper intervals.

In addition to the great accomplishments of V. I. Lenin, the Central Committee of the party was a working class and of the working peasants, for the victory of our party and for the application of the norms of scientific communism to life, his acute mind expressed itself also in this, that he detected in Stalin in those negative characteristics which resulted later in grave consequences.

## What Lenin Said of Stalin

Fearing the future fate of the party and of the Soviet nation, V. I. Lenin made a completely correct characterization of Stalin, pointing out that he was not to consider the question of transferring Stalin from the position of the Secretary General because of the fact that Stalin is excessively rude, that he does not have a proper attitude toward his comrades, that he is capricious and abusive.

In December, 1922, in a letter to the party congress, Vladimir Ilyich wrote: "After taking over the position of Secretary General Comrade Stalin accumulated in his hands immeasurable power. I am not sure that he will be always able to use this power with the required care."

This letter, a political document of tremendous importance, known in the party history as Lenin's "testament," was distributed among the delegates to the twentieth congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union.

As later events have proven, Lenin's anxiety was justified: In the first period of Lenin's death Stalin paid attention to his (Lenin's) advice, but later he began to disregard the serious recommendations of Vladimir Ilyich.

When we analyze the practice of Stalin in regard to the direction of the party and of the country, when we consider the question of whether Stalin perpetrated, we must be convinced that Lenin's fears were justified. The characteristics of Stalin, which, in Lenin's time, were only incipient, transformed themselves during the last years into a grave abuse of power by Stalin, which caused untold harm to our party.

We have to consider seriously and analyze correctly this matter in order that we may preclude any possibility of a repetition in any form of the position of Stalin during the life of Stalin, who absolutely did not tolerate collegiality in leadership and in work, who practiced brutal violence, not only toward everything which opposed him, but also toward that which seemed to him capricious and despotic character, contrary to his concept.

Stalin acted not through persuasion, explanation, and patient cooperation with people, but by imposing his concepts and demanding absolute submission to his opinion. Whoever opposed his concept or tried to prove his viewpoint and the correctness of his position was regarded by Stalin as an enemy of the collective and to subsequent moral and physical annihilation. This was especially true during the period following the twentieth party congress, when many prominent party leaders and rank-and-file party workers, honest and sincere, fell victim to Stalin's despotism.

We must affirm that the party had fought a serious fight against the Trotskyites, rightists and bourgeois nationalists, and that it distinguished ideologically all the enemies of Leninism. The logical fight was carried on successfully as a result of which the party became strengthened and tempered.

The party led a great political ideological struggle against those in the ranks who proposed anti-Leninist ideas, who represented a political line hostile to the party and to the cause of socialism. This was a stubborn and a difficult fight but a necessary one, because the political line of both the Trotskyite-Zinovievite bloc and of the Bukharinite followers of Nikolai I. Bukharin had actually toward the

restoration of capitalism and capitulation to the world bourgeoisie.

Let us consider for a moment what would have happened if in 1922-1923 the political line of right deviation had prevailed among us, or if the Trotskyite position of contact with people who had shown indecision or temporary nonconformity with the party line, but who it was possible to return to the party path, Lenin advised that such people should be tolerated in a capitalist environment.

It was for this reason that the party led an inexorable ideological fight and explained to all party members the harm and the danger of the Trotskyite position and the rightist opportunist. And this great work of explaining the party line bore fruit; both the Trotskyites and the rightist opportunist were politically isolated; the overwhelming party majority supported the Leninist position and the party was able to awaken and organize the working masses to apply the Leninist party line and to build socialism.

Worth noting is the fact that even during the progress of the furious ideological fight against the Trotskyites, the Bukharinites and others, extreme measures were not taken against them. Since Stalin could behave in this manner during Lenin's life, could thus behave toward Nadezhda Konstantinovna Krupskaya, I am not sure that he will be always able to use this power with the required care."

The U.S. State Department recently obtained from a confidential source a copy of a document that purports to be a version of the speech delivered by Nikita Khrushchev, First Secretary of the Soviet Communist Party, at a session of the party's Twentieth Congress on February 25, 1956. The session was limited to representatives of the Soviet Union.

The document was made public in answer to many inquiries. This version is understood to have been prepared for the guidance of the leadership of a Communist party outside the Soviet Union. The U.S. State Department does not vouch for the authenticity of the document and published it with the intention of letting the text speak for itself.

considered of V. I. and I beg of you to protect me from rude comments with my friends and from my own incoherence. I have no doubt that you will have the same decision of the Central Committee, with which Stalin has been dealing since the very beginning of his career. I have neither the strength nor the time to write on this matter. I am, however, very anxious to see you and my nerves are strained to the utmost.

Nadezhda Konstantinovna wrote this letter on Dec. 23, 1922. After two and a half months, in March 1923, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin sent Stalin the following letter:

Comrade Stalin, I beg of you to protect me from rude comments with my friends and from my own incoherence. I have no doubt that you will have the same decision of the Central Committee, with which Stalin has been dealing since the very beginning of his career. I have neither the strength nor the time to write on this matter. I am, however, very anxious to see you and my nerves are strained to the utmost.

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(Communication in the hall)

March 8, 1923. LENIN

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